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# POINTS FOR PLANNERS

*Note : All notes and articles in this journal, signed or unsigned, represent the views only of the individual member contributing them and not of the Society as a whole.*

## REFORM OF FOREIGN SERVICE<sup>1</sup>

Proposals, first promised by Mr Eden, in the House on June 11th, 1941, to reform the Government's foreign services on a wider social basis, and a broader understanding of economic and social questions, have now been published as a White Paper.<sup>1</sup> The proposals although presented in no great detail embody (1) amalgamation of diplomatic, commercial diplomatic and consular services into one service whose members will serve mainly abroad with periods in London. The Foreign Office to be quite distinct from Home Civil Service. (2) Subordinate grades, e.g. clerical, to be treated as members of the service and pensionable. (3) Superannuation and pension of all members unsuited for higher office—to take effect as soon as Parliament votes funds. (4) Higher pay to attract men without private incomes, in particular, extra grants during service in London. (5) Knowledge of economics and Labour movement demanded; and facilitated by the amalgamation. (6) Candidates to be recruited (a) on the result of a University examination in a general subject, (b) a small proportion—of bad examinees—to be selected on previous records and character but not on the social qualifications demanded by the present Foreign Office Selection Board, which is abolished. The recruit to study languages and conditions abroad for 18 months at State expense; this followed by a second qualifying examination and a year's probation in the Foreign Office and abroad. This seems the most questionable proposal. Why should not candidates study their special subjects at the University, as lawyers, doctors, etc. do? The long course designed will deter those who may not pass the second examination. Despite the useful training, 'failed F O' will not be a sterling qualification for business. Above all, the question is bound up with a real opening of the Universities to all classes.

## THE TOMLINSON REPORT<sup>2</sup>

The Tomlinson Report on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Persons is the product of an inter-departmental committee charged to recommend steps to be taken to establish the 'comprehensive rehabilitation services' assumed in the Beveridge Report. It surveys the need for such services in wide

terms, and considers both the injured and those disabled by illness etc. Among the first practical proposals in this country for a scheme of placing the disabled in employment, it recommends the creation of a register of disabled persons to be supervised and implemented by voluntary committees attached to the employment exchanges. It proposes that certain occupations (e.g. messengers, lift-attendants) should in future be reserved for the unskilled disabled, and further, that there should be a compulsory quota of disabled persons employed in industry generally—as in Germany, where such a quota has been obligatory since 1920. Little, however, is said about practical steps to be taken, apart from a proposal that another inter-departmental committee be set up to encourage cooperation between various departments concerned. Experience of the present limited Interim Scheme has shown that special rehabilitation workers must be in contact with each case through all its stages from the moment of disability until final resettlement in the most suitable occupation. Such officers attached to the Social Security Services must be a high grade of medico-social worker. In addition, a new type of specialist is needed to act as consultant in the Employment Exchanges, to understand in detail the work and organisation of the industries in their districts, and act as advisers, not only in the placing of the disabled worker, but his training also. A preliminary step to any scheme for the placing of the disabled should be a study of the different kinds of work suited to different kinds of disablement.

### THE BEVERIDGE REPORT<sup>3</sup>

The Government have agreed to **accept** the following points from the Beveridge Report, subject to qualifications which in many cases emasculate them :

I (1) *Comprehensive Medical Service* based on 'the fullest possible use of existing resources'. For the scattered and complicated pattern of existing resources, public and private, readers are referred to page 31.

(2) *Children's Allowances* at 5/- each instead of 8/- for second and subsequent children, supplemented by extension of free school meals. No indication when these services in kind will reach maximum expansion ; children's allowances not to be introduced before the whole Plan is, if ever, implemented.

(3) *Approved Societies* to go. A loophole is left for their retention as paying agencies—a provision which would spoil the administrative and human unity of the scheme.

(4) *Funeral Grant* accepted but the Industrial Assurance Board is unconditionally rejected. Private industrial assurance to continue unmolested.

(5) *Equal benefits* for sickness and unemployment—a relatively minor reform long overdue.

(6) *Comprehensive insurance* to include every citizen. This is a major principle gained:



The following points are **rejected** :

II (1) *Subsistence basis* for benefits variable with cost of living. This is disastrous; the scientific measurement of human living needs is a great advance in modern social research; adequate benefits are indispensable to Social Security. Also disastrous is the insistence on rigid statutory relationship between benefits/contributions/Exchequer grant. This fosters the obsolete illusion that contributions buy the benefits, militates against flexibility, and gives a cast-iron immobility to the whole structure, which is fatal to modern budgetary planning.

(2) *Benefit of unlimited duration*; substitution of 'the intervention of some suitable tribunal' after a limited benefit period.

(3) *Stepped-up Old Age Pensions*. The Government prefer a fixed pension and suggest increase of contributions if pensions are later raised. The old 'insurance' fallacy.

(4) *Social Security Ministry*. 'The insurance side . . . ought to be consolidated into one organisation,' but this may not be a Ministry.

(5) *The inclusion of Workmen's Compensation* to wait 'for further consideration'.

In his Report Sir William Beveridge wrote : 'Now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. **A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.**'"

<sup>1</sup> *Proposals for the Reform of the Foreign Service*, Misc. No. 2 (1943). Cmd. 6420. H.M.S.O. 2d.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Inter-departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Re-settlement of Disabled Persons*. January 1943. Cmd. 6415. H.M.S.O. 9d.

<sup>3</sup> *H.C. Debs*, 16 Feb. 1943, 1654-1678.

"Our S.R.'s. and our Mensheviks approach the question of Socialism as doctrinaires, from the point of view of a doctrine which they have learnt by heart, but ill understood.

"They picture Socialism as a thing of the distant future, dim and unknown.

"Now Socialism is oozing through all the pores of contemporary capitalism; Socialism rises directly and *practically* from each great step in advance within Capitalism."

Lenin, September, 1917 (*Preparing for Revolt by N. Lenin, Modern Books Ltd., 1929.*)

# AN APPEAL TO ECONOMISTS

Margaret Cole

¶ The article which follows is a plea to economists and to teachers in general to make efforts to meet a present-day situation which appears to me to be full of danger. I have purposely gone into very little detail about the suggestions, which indeed, being neither an economist nor a school-teacher, I am not qualified to do. But I think the essential is the approach, and I appeal to some economist or teacher to work it out.

It will be agreed, I imagine, that in 'developed industrial communities' a knowledge of the facts of economics is as essential as a knowledge of the facts of physiology and hygiene, and for much the same reason, viz. that ignorance of them may produce, not merely risk to the individual, but disaster to the community. There are plenty of examples one could quote of ignorance of economics leading to disaster; the major one of our times is undoubtedly the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Without making comment on the political parts of the Treaty, without passing any judgment on whether the Germans were then treated with excessive or with insufficient severity, one must point out that the statesmen who made the Reparations decisions, *owing to their ignorance of economics*, produced exactly the opposite effect of what they had intended. They *intended* that the Germans should be kept poor and worked hard until the damage done by the war had been entirely repaired; what they *achieved* was the modernisation of German industry, by means of Allied capital investment, so that it became in the first place highly competitive with their own, and in the second place so rationalised, so dependent upon what is now called 'full employment', that when the slump came it toppled over rapidly, knocked down the industry of half the world in its fall, and out of its ruins produced, not Hitler, but power for Hitler; for that unemployment was the chief cause which brought power to the Nazis is clear from any comparison of the size of the Nazi vote at different elections with the out-of-work figures. Whatever M. Clemenceau and the rest intended, it cannot have been this; but they produced and put forward their preposterous schemes because they were abysmally ignorant of economics and so conditioned by their ignorance that they were unable to listen to the voices of Keynes and others who told them what a mistake they were making. And the electors, as ignorant as their leaders, saw nothing wrong with the notion that Germany should be made to pay and pay until the pips squeaked. On this point I speak with feeling, as one who both in 1918 and



1931 vainly endeavoured to do a small amount of elementary economic teaching in the heat of an election; no one in the audiences was capable of a response.

It is true that our rulers have learnt a little since then, as a result both of the reparations fiasco and of the remarkable effects of making Eastern Europe so economically dependent upon Germany that the Nazi conquest was all but accomplished before a single soldier had moved—a result, also, which the statesmen of 1919 can hardly have willed. By 1931–2 the education of the British Treasury had progressed so far that it was able to prepare an admirable lecture on economics, which was delivered to the United States when we had decided to default on the American debt—a document which the Americans, whose education had not yet reached that point, received with a marked lack of enthusiasm. The eleven intervening years (which have been a highly educative period) may have got us a little further on; I hope so. But can anyone seriously doubt that there is at the present time an ignorance of economic *facts* so serious as to be a great potential danger in the difficult after-war period? Anyone who, being at the helm after the war and desiring to pursue a policy which will provide a reasonable hope of world prosperity (and thereby of world peace), will have to formulate proposals in the economic field which will drastically affect the lives and expectations of millions; the continuance of rationing is only one of these. But so far there is little sign that the bulk of the people, whose acquiescence, at the very least, is essential, have any real idea of what it is all about. Those who doubt this should talk to an ordinary audience on, say, the Beveridge Report, and note its reactions.

## ECONOMIC BATTLEFIELD

To ordinary people—*pace* the economists—economics is not a science at all, not a factual study 90% of which is accepted by all its practitioners; it is either a mumbo-jumbo of things too difficult for you and me to understand, like the gold standard or bank balance-sheets (or which, perhaps, you and I are not intended to understand), or it is a battlefield of warring isms, in which a Marxist economist is as different from a Keynesian as a Mahomedan is from a Catholic theologian, and you take your choice according to how you were brought up. It is like science in the days of the phlogiston theory, or public health when drains that were laid by the wrong sort of people with the wrong views might be expected actually to disseminate typhoid. But economics is not really such a chaos as that would seem to indicate. If you

can persuade them to stick to *facts*, ninety per cent. of economists will, I believe, agree upon ninety per cent. of the basic facts; and could, upon that basis, build a scientific factual structure which could be as universally agreed, and therefore as universally teachable, as the basic structure of engineering or medicine. One does not have to choose between being classical or Marxist in speaking of the stresses in a bridge or the circulation of the blood; one need not be about the exchange of commodities. What has gone wrong is the formulation.

The reason it has gone wrong is, I suggest, partly if not wholly historical. The first and less important cause is that it is only comparatively recently that economics has been recognised as a subject of study of first-class intellectual rank, which could be taken by persons who were not training to be professional economists, i.e. inbreeders intending to devote their lives to writing about or lecturing about economics. Before the last war, it was not possible to take a degree in economics at Cambridge; you could take a diploma, that is to say, a kind of specialist certificate entitling you to practise, like a diploma in education. The London School of Economics was a hole-and-corner sort of body invented by Socialists; the Oxford School of Modern Greats did not exist until the 'twenties. The result of this was twofold. First, the highly-educated politicians—such as made the Treaty—had never learnt any economics, because they had never realised there was any economics to learn; like the present Prime Minister, they had learnt military and political history and the classics. Secondly, the business men and technicians who were forced to learn something about economic facts in order to do their own jobs evolved an unbalanced and specialised 'business-economics' of their own, which employed terms in different senses from that of the academicians, so that, for example, the word 'costs' tended to mean something quite different according to whether it was employed by a lecturer on economics or by a chartered accountant.

This was a nuisance; but the second fact is far more important. It is that the bulk of our economic theory and teaching grew out of, and was conditioned by, the capitalist system, the system whose assumed motive-power was the profit of the private individual and whose high-lights, in this country, were the manipulators of finance, of credit and of currency. This meant that the primary subject-matter of all economics, as can be seen from any elementary text-book in circulation, was not *things* but *symbols*—price levels, interest, rates, and above all money. The whole of economics was deflected from its original Greek meaning of 'housekeeping'—how to get the things which we all want to eat and to wear—to



refinements upon the mechanics of a particular (and temporary) system of *economic organisation*. So it naturally became the field of argumentative specialists outside the ken of the common man; the efforts of Wells, in *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*—a brave amateur attempt which deserves more recognition than it has ever yet received—or of J. A. Hobson, who, lonely and unhonoured, first pointed out the inhumanity and wastefulness of economics based on capitalist assumptions, fell on dead ground.

(At the risk of bringing down on my head the enthusiasts of the National Council of Labour Colleges, I must, however reluctantly, include Marx in this indictment. Marx was a brilliant *advocate*; he excelled in taking his opponent's arguments and turning them inside out to serve his own moral ends. Thus, he turned Hegel upside down to make the materialist conception of history, which is a fine argumentative weapon, and a faith to fight for. Similarly, in the field of economics, he countered the classics with the labour theory of value, which formulates the *faith* that the working-class gets a rotten deal from the capitalist, but has no particular relation to the facts of economic life. What the Russians have done, since 1918, has nothing Marxist about it except some of the phraseology.)

## ECONOMICS FOR THE MILLION

To-day, however, the economic institutions of capitalist society have so patently failed to work that it is possible, as it was not twenty years ago, to develop a new formulation. Two factors, above all, have brought this about. The great slump, which clearly showed to many who had not hitherto concerned themselves with economics that something had gone wrong, was the first. Between 1931 and 1933, it became plain that the profit-motive, which had had such a fine run during the nineteenth century, was not now producing prosperity, but scarcity, misery and unemployment. Faith was shaken; money was shown up as a device or mechanism which might or might not work, not a thing which had any positive reality. Upon this shock followed another, the realisation that an economic organisation of society which was not based upon the assumptions of private profit could work and work effectively. This second contribution is the contribution of the U S S R, and it has only been realised, in the minds of the people, since 1941. Prior to the German invasion, belief in the U S S R was largely a matter of faith. Those of us who had been to Russia and had seen with our own eyes the extent to which the new system had enlisted the enthusiasm of a whole country

might believe and assert in and out of season that it was 'a new civilisation'; there were, nevertheless, mistakes and set-backs in the economic field, apart from any other, and it was still possible for economic ostriches of the Hayek type to declare that Soviet Russia was an economic impossibility, that it denied all the canons, and that if it still made a pretension to existence, it would before long be liquidated.

No one can make such an assertion today; the Russian economic system is a living fact, not a pipe-dream of the Left. And the people whose livelihoods were thrown about, like straws in a wind or percentages in a statistical table, by the crash of 1931, are already prepared to recognise it. So far, however, Ruling Statesmen and official economists, lagging far behind the movement of popular opinion, have still almost entirely failed to recognise the emergence of new values and the extent to which ordinary people are finding them easily acceptable. That is why I, who am no economist, am taking advantage of this opportunity to plead with those who are economists to wake up in time, to discard the formulas based upon a system that is passing away before our eyes, and to reshape economics in terms of real things and in such language as can be widely understood. *Economics for the Million* is what I am asking for; that is to say, economics so relevant and so phrased, that the teachers of millions can grasp the meaning easily, and can filter them through to the minds of those who do not read text-books.

In the latter part of a short article I cannot sketch out the contents of such an economics, even if I were qualified to do so. I can only suggest a possible basis upon which economics might be taught, not merely to adults but to children also. At the present time there is an opinion, prevalent, I regret to say, in labour circles as well as any others, that economics is not a subject suitable for teaching in schools, because it is 'controversial'. Certainly it is controversial, if it is to be the old type of economics, based alternatively upon theories derived from an acceptance of the capitalist system or upon theories derived from a theory about its overthrow. Each of these ways leads straight to doctrinal argument. But if, as I have suggested, nine-tenths—or even some smaller fraction—of the facts which are needed for the study of economics are *real* facts which can be accepted by anyone, whatever his political prepossessions, then we can set about teaching them to the tenderest minds.

I would suggest, tentatively, and subject to correction, that any modern teaching of economics should be formulated in some such way as the following. The actual technique of the instruc-



tion is, of course, a matter for separate discussion ; it is my contention that economics should be taught to young and adult alike, but obviously one would use a different method of approach according to whether one's pupils were school children, ex-university graduates, or army recruits.

## BASIC ECONOMICS

It should be based on the firm statement that the subject-matter of economics is the satisfaction of man's material wants, i.e. the production of all the goods and services required for living and their distribution into the hands of those who require to consume them. Distinction can then be drawn between the material and non-material factors in production—materials and labour ; and between production for present and production for future use, thus getting the meaning of capital and of 'saving' and 'spending' clear at the outset. It should also be made clear that the economic problem of distribution is the question of getting into the possession of the consumer sufficient purchasing-power for him to be able, in effect, to exchange his own assets for those produced by others ; it will then become possible to put money, of all kinds, in its proper setting as a mechanism to facilitate such an exchange.

With this understanding of the basic purpose of economics in mind, that of getting *things* made and giving them to *people*, one can then proceed to the various institutions or expedients which mankind has evolved as a means of carrying out this basic purpose, and this will lead naturally to the study of the expedients adopted (a) by the nineteenth-century system of private profit, (b) by the Russian system of State plus collective enterprise. (I imagine that few will wish to go further afield and re-discover the gild system ; but it could, of course, be mentioned as a further indication that there is no one device which is good or useful at all stages of the world's productive history.) In this setting one could devote as much or as little time as one chose to the detailed workings of either system ; to the real functions of, e.g., banks or the Stock Exchange, to the meaning of 'costs', the causes of unemployment, the mechanics of foreign trade or of collective farming, and see them all against a background of reality.

At this point, some one will certainly object that the 'facts' of economics are unlike the 'facts' of engineering, in that they involve a large amount of psychology. True, they do. But so, as we are gradually discovering, do the 'facts' of medicine, of social hygiene, or of education ; but this does not mean that medicine or social hygiene has to be studied on an entirely

ideological basis. Certainly, *in the end*, any discussion or teaching of economics must lead to controversy, as must any adequately conducted discussion of 'civics', that favourite subject of the officially impartial. In a world whose systems are changing so rapidly, and earlier ideas on social morality are fast proving themselves inadequate, controversy cannot be indefinitely postponed. But we could at least strive to secure that controversy supervenes after a knowledge of facts, and does not precede them.

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"Social security is a splendid method of easing the individual worker and business communities over rough spots. But . . . . we should not look to a social security programme as a substitute for dynamic and creative business energy and initiative."

U.S. Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, *The American Magazine*, March, 1943.



# FOOD IN BRITAIN

If a species is to survive, reproduction and maintenance are necessary. Maintenance, in simple terms, means food, shelter and clothing. The standard at which these three necessities are available in a country determines the health of its population. Of these three requirements, food and clothing are, with the exception of fish, artificial silks and a few other items, derived from agriculture, and even some parts of shelter are of agricultural origin. It is evident, therefore, that if a race is to attain an optimum health standard, the products of agriculture must be available in adequate amounts at a cost which is within the reach of the poorest members of the community.

In Britain, at present, in spite of many wartime difficulties, two-thirds of the food is home produced. In peacetime even more could be obtained as the result of a long-term planned economy.

This country is well fitted for production of protective foods. Although there is still considerable controversy concerning the exact quantities of each food constituent required by the body, it is generally admitted that certain foods, when included in the diet, promote positive health and build up resistance to disease. Milk and cheese, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, meat, eggs, fish and fish oils, pulses and fats rich in, or enriched with vitamins, are generally acknowledged as the protective foods in a healthy diet suited to the climatic conditions of this country.

Britain has almost a monopoly of production of certain of the protective foods for consumption by her own population. No other country can deliver milk fresh on British doorsteps each morning, or supply fresh vegetables in quantity for British markets. If the dietary standard of the people is to be raised to a health level, increased provision of these foods is of major importance. The production of milk and milk products, vegetables and fruit is a labour consuming type of agriculture which would open up a new labour market contributing to the prevention of unemployment when peace is declared. It would lead to the reversal of rural depopulation; with the repopulation of villages and the reconditioning of village houses, a revival of rural culture and community life would be possible.

## FOOD FOR HEALTH

The factory workers of Britain in the large towns of the 19th century had less adequate diets than the serfs on the mediæval

domains. The provision of sufficient food to meet bodily needs for good health did not keep pace with the population transfers and increases. During the 20th century, the general level of nutrition has steadily increased, and this has been associated with increased length of life and greater freedom from disease. Even so, a survey of human dietary habits and food intakes in 1936 showed that about 50% of the population of this country were undernourished to varying degrees. 10% of the population suffered from deficiency of every constituent measured. An important aspect of the situation is that this 10% of the population contained 20% of the total child population of the country owing to the concentration of large families at the bottom of the scale. It can probably be said that about three-quarters of the children of this country are undernourished at some time of their childhood. With each addition to the family, the amount available for the purchase of food decreases. Food expenditure within the poorer sections of the community is the most elastic expenditure since rent and, to a large extent clothing, are practically fixed charges.

Almost daily new evidence is brought forward by hospitals and laboratories that much disease arises from bad feeding. In one large London hospital many cases of dermatitis, of varying types, have been cured by the provision of a diet rich in the protective foods. Gastric and nervous disorders, constipation, tiredness, lack of stamina, obesity leading to varicose veins, fatty hearts or, in some cases, diabetes, are all common conditions. Malformation of the pelvis leads to unnecessary difficulties in child birth. Teeth are bad; indeed, a perfect set of teeth in an adult is a rare occurrence.

In many parts of our cities people have lost sight of the characteristics of a normal well-nourished child. Investigation has shown that in 1931 87.5% of children in the London County Council Schools showed one or more signs of rickets. 50% of the working class women of Britain suffer from anæmia in some degree and almost all of this is the result of iron deficiency in the diet.

Experimental evidence shows that health depends largely on economic position. There is a concentration of the infant and child deaths in the poor sections of the community. In Britain infant mortality in the group of the population at the foot of the economic scale amounts to over one hundred per thousand births, while in the highest economic group this figure is reduced to twenty per thousand births. A comparison of pre-school children of the poorest class with children of the same age of the well-to-do showed that 23% of the former were definitely anæmic while none of the latter suffered from this complaint.



This is not all, for these deficiencies lower the resistance of the body to the invasion of bacteria. This is not the place for an extensive discourse on infectious diseases, but it is generally acknowledged that tuberculosis often follows on malnutrition and that its incidence is concentrated among the poor.

Improved nutrition increases growth. Orr, Leighton and Clark found that the provision of milk in schools substantially increased the growth rate, both in height and weight, of British school children. Russian Jewish emigrants to America, who were financially successful, produced children who averaged five inches taller than their parents.

## MONEY FOR FOOD

We begin to realise that the outstanding cause of ill-health today is poor nutrition. The causes of malnutrition fall into two classes: those arising from ignorance on the part of the consumer and those arising from the type of economic system existing today. The former can be corrected by nutritional education, the latter by political education.

Extensive studies of human populations have shown that advice leading to wiser expenditure of the amount of the wage available for food lead immediately to improvement in child health, and to the reductions in the number of abortions and stillbirths in pregnant women, and in complications at child birth. But in such cases even better results were obtained when, in addition to advice, free food was also given. There are, without doubt, considerable numbers of the population whose diet can be brought to an adequate level by advice alone, but for the greater proportion, advice alone can only mitigate the deficiencies—increased purchasing power must be provided in addition.

The need for a planned economic policy is best shown by the effect of piecemeal town planning. When workers were moved from slum areas to new municipal housing estates, there was a reduction in the state of health. This arose because the greater cost of living in healthier houses reduced the money available for food. Improvement in purchasing power is a political problem. It can be attained by increasing wages or by reducing the price of foodstuffs. The blame cannot be fixed on the food producers for under-production before the war. The returns they received for many kinds of produce was less than the cost of production, a fact which drove them, in self-defence, into adopting methods of farming which impoverished the soil but cut down labour charges, and, incidentally, reduced food production. To return to unplanned agriculture after the war will mean a return to poor farming.

## OUR FOOD FAULTS

Certain food interests such as the millers and that portion of the chemical industry producing synthetic vitamins have adopted policies not conducive to the common good. Yet, taking the case of white bread as an example, they have had a willing accomplice in the general public, for in spite of years of campaigning by scientific workers and, of late, by the Government, the opposition to the more nutritious brown loaf remains.

Also, while milk has been too expensive for certain large sections of the population, until recently only half the children entitled to free or cheap milk at school were taking it. In the case of school meals, which local authorities are empowered to supply free or at cost, the situation was even more lamentable. Only a few schools were providing such services. The percentage of children taking advantage of this facility in England and Wales was only 3, 6 and 12% in 1939, 1940 and 1941 respectively. Much of this was due to the inertia of local authorities unstimulated by an awakened public awareness of the importance of good child nutrition; but it is equally true that progressive local authorities have, in some cases, been obstructed by the teachers themselves. If improvement is to be made, a public alive to the necessity of adequate nutrition must demand the full statutory advantages which authorities may provide.

An alteration in the economic system is necessary to raise the level of nutrition of the labouring class to adequacy. With this must go an educational policy. There is no doubt that an abundance of cheap food of the right type and a knowledge of how best to select menus and prepare meals from these supplies are the only possible means of achieving the desired results of improved health. Whether this abundance of cheap food is attained by a system of price control and food subsidies or by some other means is immaterial. The inescapable fact remains that without this adequate supply only small improvements can be made. Abundance without knowledge of how to use it is not enough. A great obstacle is the lack of information among housewives as to how best to select the foods for the family meals and how they should be prepared to conserve their nutritional value.

## FOOD ADVICE IN WAR—

The gap between the great modern achievement of scientific knowledge of good feeding habits and their translation into practice in the home is wide. It can be bridged only by the intensive use of staff acquainted not only with scientific facts of the laboratory but also with the manifold problems that confront the housewife



daily in the kitchen. The building of this bridge will never be easier than it is to-day, for the problems of feeding the family are foremost in wartime in the minds of those who have to prepare meals. To allow this interest to dwindle either now or when peace returns is to perform a dis-service that will be measured in terms of persistent ill-health.

There is at the present time a cadre of trained women being built up throughout the country to meet the needs arising from war. They are employed in canteens, hospitals, clinics, research laboratories, experimental kitchens or in supplying knowledge of food and nutrition to the public. The Ministry of Food has established a Food Advice Division, consisting of experimental kitchens, teams of Demonstrators who work from centres scattered over Britain and a group of nutrition specialists. All the women employed in this work are fully trained teachers of domestic science and many are qualified in dietetics as well.

Recipes and leaflets are prepared by the Nutritionists and tested by the kitchens. They are passed on to the public by means of free demonstrations and leaflets. These demonstrations are given in Food Advice Centres, Department stores, markets or from mobile vans. Housewives are urged to present questions and problems if advice is needed. The nutritionists are available to cooperate with any organisation or with other government departments with the aim of raising the nutritional level of the country.

### —AND IN PEACE

The food problem in Britain is not of wartime significance only. If we are to rise above our inadequate pre-war health standard, it must also be regarded as a vital peacetime problem. War conditions are necessarily altering our established dietary habits and in many cases altering them for the better. The introduction of priority schemes, the decreased sugar consumption and increased consumption of protective foods and the growth of canteen feeding have all materially improved the diet of the population. It would be disastrous to allow these improvements to disappear when peace comes. Will it not be advisable, therefore, when peace has been achieved, to use this vast network of experts, brought into existence by the forces of destruction, to advance construction in the post-war world? On the existing structure could be built, by a long term policy of expansion, a band of women qualified and ready to work with equal vigour towards the goal, not of military fitness, but of abounding health for every man, woman and child throughout Britain, and, indeed, throughout the world.

Education about healthy living, if it is to be effective, must be a widespread network operating through every available channel. Nursery schools, schools and youth organisations must all play their part, and the good habits taught in pre-school years must be reaffirmed and practised throughout the complete school period. School teachers, who realised that learning to have a healthy body is as important as intellectual knowledge and that healthy children make intelligent pupils, would be able to achieve vast improvement in the health level of the coming generation. Simple talks on health subjects in the earlier years, leading to a more detailed study of physiological processes and nutritional knowledge in the more advanced classes would make clear to the children the logical reasons for healthy living habits. School canteens have wide possibilities as teaching centres. Knowledge can be spread through health visitors, nurses, clinics and hospital waiting rooms. The large number of women's voluntary organisations should be utilised. Such a scheme as that of Key-housewives, brought into being by the Women's Voluntary Service, could play a weighty part. America has done much pioneer work in Nutritional education and in raising the dietary standard of her people. The City of Chicago has reduced its infant mortality rate from 120 in 1920 to 29 in 1942, which is concrete proof of the results obtainable by a concentrated health campaign. Britain should be sufficiently open-minded to profit by American experience, adapting the most successful methods devised in that country to fit conditions here.

Inspiration and enthusiasm must unite all those engaged in the work of raising the health standard of Britain. A unified plan, eliminating overlapping, must be devised. The people of this country want knowledge. A burning desire for improved conditions in the post-war world is evident. When the importance of good feeding is realised, public opinion will demand the continuance of the beneficial measures introduced during wartime and an extension of these in times of peace.

A great goal lies ahead. Is it too much to hope that in the next decades hospitals will be used only for casualties and child-birth and that the present pitiful stream of human sufferers, direct products of malnutrition and other social evils, will no longer fill the wards and surgeries and that health will be the birthright of all?

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"Labour must go beyond hours, rates of pay and working conditions, and through an appropriate agency of the government cooperate vigorously with business in programmes for full employment."

U.S. Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, *The American Magazine*, March, 1943.



# WHEN HOSTILITIES CEASE

## Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Europe

Mildred Bamford

*Secretary of the Fabian International Bureau*

Military victories and political developments are forcing the terms relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction into common usage. Are we clear what is meant? Relief, perhaps, yes—'Alleviation of, or deliverance from pain, distress, anxiety'. About rehabilitation and reconstruction there is some confusion of thought. The Oxford Dictionary gives rehabilitation as 'to restore to privileges, reputation or proper condition' and to reconstruct, as to construct once more 'often with implication that previous doing was deficient or erroneous, or now requires alteration or improvement or renewal'. We suggest that socialists, when thinking of the post-war world, should use the terms relief and reconstruction rather than relief and rehabilitation.

H. N. Brailsford first struck the political note at a meeting of the International Bureau last summer when he said that the political future of Europe might well be settled during the first weeks after the cessation of hostilities. Since then there has been a recognition of the growing danger of relief being used as a political weapon. The Labour Party has shown itself fully alive to this and has announced that the Executive Committee will submit a resolution on relief to the Annual Conference of the Party in June. It is necessary that the rank and file of our movement should be made aware of the weapon which is being forged by the failure to institute international control of relief before the war ends.

Before surveying the measures that are actually in hand, it is well to remind ourselves of the main difficulties which will have to be faced as countries are released from the Nazi yoke. The fact that it is extremely probable that they will be released one by one presents a major difficulty in itself, inasmuch as shipping will be the bottleneck for all relief. On the one hand, military supplies for Europe will still have priority (in addition, it may be expected, war needs in the Pacific will continue to make very heavy demands on allied shipping) and the U Boat menace will still be great, and, on the other, a liberated people will be in dire need. Control of shipping is essential if priorities are to be adequately and fairly handled.

## FOOD

Four groups of countries will require food supplies, and priority must be given to the first two groups, the occupied countries. In the first group, there are the starving countries of Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States and occupied Russia. The second group—not starving, but hungry countries—are Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Czecho-Slovakia. The third group comprises the Allies of the Axis, and the fourth Germany and Italy themselves. Some idea of the magnitude of the task can be grasped if it is realised that there will be 200 million people in the occupied countries in Europe needing immediate supplies of food. If these supplies are estimated as supplementary to their current diet, one million tons of solid foodstuffs per month will be required. The question of vitamins in the very early stages of relief is not the most important one.

## MEDICAL RELIEF

Concurrent with the problem of food supplies is the provision and administration of medical relief. Malnutrition will be the strongest enemy of the doctor, and shortage of drugs and equipment will intensify his task. Resistance to epidemics will be at an extremely low level. We have only to remember the influenza epidemic at the end of the last war in our own country, when, compared with the Continent at the moment, we were well nourished. Malaria, typhus fever, tuberculosis and venereal diseases will be rapidly increasing, and a temporary 'stand still order' to all people is imperative if the danger, which might be caused by returning armies, refugees seeking their homes, and enemy-conscripted workers, is to be controlled. Typhus ravaged the Italian cities at the end of the last war, when Italy was not occupied or fought over, and it will be readily understood how much greater is the problem when vast areas of Europe will be battlefields denuded of doctors, food, medical supplies and equipment.

The intention of avoiding revolution will operate equally with the humanitarian desire of Great Britain and the United States to send aid. How this condition will be interpreted will, to some extent, depend upon the representatives of these countries' governments on the spot, and on national temper at home. We should remember that the provision of relief was used immediately after the last war to control the political situation in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin, and, in addition, the Allies showed their hand clearly by attempting to interfere with the progress of the Russian Revolution. This had an influence on the political situation throughout Europe, and gave a moral encouragement to reactionary forces



everywhere. This time it would seem that the only effective weapon in the hands of the British and American governments will be the control of the supply of food and medical necessities, and we can be sure they will be used to the full, unless public opinion has educated itself and is prepared to battle for the right of all oppressed peoples to immediate and full political freedom.

## AGRICULTURE

In 1918 France, Holland and Switzerland still retained considerable stocks from which the herds and flocks of Europe could be replenished. In these countries this time we must assume that the stocks will be exhausted, and even in the enemy countries stocks will be depleted and impoverished. Europe will have to look overseas for help, and this will involve a long-term policy of replacement, during which large quantities of milk, butter, meat and the ancillary products will have to be imported. At the present time we are told that milk production has gone down by more than a third, and meat production by nearly a half, and even post-war harvests may be dependent upon the availability of draught animals. It is vital, perhaps in agriculture more than in any other industry, that the principles employed for relief measures should be those which will also serve a long-term programme. This, it is suggested, should lead very largely to a re-orientation of European agriculture—concentration on mixed farming (dairy farming, fruit and vegetable growing), which would not only supply foods to improve the standard of living of the local people, but would, by reason of the large amount of labour required and their high market value, tend to increase the prosperity of rural communities, and so to diminish the quantity of uneconomic surpluses, e.g. wheat and sugar, which, if they again became dominant crops, would chain down the peasant to poverty level.

## MEASURES BEING TAKEN

At an inter-Allied meeting, held in London at St James's Palace on 24 September 1941 a resolution<sup>1</sup> was passed, as a result of which the Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau was established. Technical Advisory Committees on the following subjects have been set up to work in conjunction with the Bureau: Nutrition, Medical Needs, Agriculture, European Inland Transport. A Consultative Council of Voluntary Organisations has also been formed. The Committee on Agriculture has completed a report on the seed requirements of Europe after the close of hostilities, and has since been working on the problems of restoring livestock

herds, training tractor drivers, supplying agricultural machinery and assessing likely fertiliser needs. The Medical Committee (as reported in *The Times* 25 November 1942) has already decided upon a basic list of 59 drugs, showing total quantities required per 100,000 of population for the first month after liberation. Further lists for those special areas where diseases are endemic or epidemic are now under consideration.

But it is quite clear that the problems associated with the inadequacy of world supplies to meet total demand, the allocation and transport of supplies to the places where they are needed, and the question of finance, are outside the terms of reference of the Bureau. As far as we are able to ascertain, with the exception of the wheat pool of 100 million bushels, which is being created as the result of the Interim Agreement announced on 2 July 1942, no other arrangements have yet been made to organise stocks of essential goods, or to arrange for their transport. The generalisations made by Ministers in both Houses recently seem to indicate that this is the true position.

The Parliamentary correspondent to *The Times*, writing on the International Wheat Agreement on the 3rd July 1942 said:

‘ . . . It was recognised that it is impracticable at present to convene a conference of all the nations necessary to secure the international wheat agreement needed for a satisfactory solution of the problem. The United States will convene such a conference when the time is deemed propitious and the draft convention will then be submitted to that conference for consideration.’

Presumably, this right is given to America as the largest producing country, but such a statement gives great cause for disquiet; meanwhile, who is going to decide on allocation and priorities in connection with the administration of the wheat pool?

## THE POSITION OF THE U S S R

Public opinion is gradually waking up to the fact that the Soviet Government is not actually cooperating in the work of the Allied Post War Requirements Bureau, but it is not generally remembered or understood why. At the Inter-Allied Council meeting referred to above, M. Maisky accepted the first five paragraphs of the resolution<sup>1</sup> on behalf of the Soviet Government,

<sup>1</sup> These paragraphs outlined proposals for inter-Allied planning and execution of post-war relief in Europe. The United States, not being at that time an Ally in the war, was not included. The sixth point reads: “As a first step a bureau should be established by His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom, with which the Allied Governments and authorities would collaborate . . . and which . . . would present proposals to a Committee of Allied representatives under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith Ross.”



but asked that the Bureau should have an inter-Allied character and that it should be built on the basis of equal representation of all the governments concerned. Mr Eden, in reply, stated that there was no reason why its composition and scope should not be modified or extended after discussions between the Allies. Nearly 18 months have elapsed and the principle of international control has not yet been recognised, and, as far as we know, no further discussions of the type suggested by Mr Eden have been initiated.

## NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

On the 11th November the *Manchester Guardian* reported that the Pacific War Council meeting in Washington had under consideration the establishment of a world-wide United Nations' organisation for post-war relief and rehabilitation. Lord Cranborne, however, in the House of Lords on 9 December, replying to Lord Strabolgi, said the British Government were in close consultation with the United States Government and with the other United Nations with a view to developing a plan of action as soon as circumstances permitted. These consultations had, however, not yet reached the stage when decisions could be made. Consultations were at present going on in the United States concerning the detailed financial arrangements which would be required.

The British press, in announcing in November the appointment of Mr Lehmann as Administrator of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation on behalf of the United States, went on to say that it had been suggested that Governor Lehmann might in fact become administrator of relief for the whole world. We do not want to quarrel with the appointment of Mr Lehmann as the administrator of foreign relief on behalf of the United States—he has an excellent record as Governor of New York City since 1933—but we have the right to ask on whose behalf the further suggestion was made. By whom will Governor Lehmann be appointed as relief administrator for the world, and by what constitutional body will he be controlled? American politics are fluid, and no one can say which interests will be dominant when relief administration has to operate on a wider scale than it is at present doing with such disastrous results in North Africa. It would seem that the stage is being set for a negation of the third principle of the Atlantic Charter: that the rights of peoples to choose the form of government under which they live, will be respected.

## WHAT HAPPENED LAST TIME ?

There is an unpleasant analogy between the present position

and that at the end of the last war. By October 1918 the organisations of the Allied Maritime Transport Council and the Inter-Allied Food Council had been perfected by the Allies and the United States, and together formed a powerful and effective body. One of its most valuable features was that the administrative personnel, drawn from four countries, had learned to understand each other's methods and difficulties, and work in harmony, but even so it was realised that this organisation would be unable to cope with all the problems which would be created by the coming Armistice, particularly those of finance. The choice lay between expanding the existing organisation, or else creating a new one. On 28 October 1918 the two Councils passed a joint resolution recommending the former course: the Allied Maritime Transport Council should be converted without breach of continuity into a General Economic Council with certain extensions and certain personnel changes. On 13 November—two days after the armistice—this recommendation was endorsed by the British War Cabinet and submitted by them to the United States, France and Italy. The scheme was rejected and the machinery virtually laid aside. It was not until two months later that a new organisation called the Supreme Council of Supply and Relief was established in Paris. It was superseded a month later owing to its ineffectiveness and merged in February 1919 in the Supreme Economic Council, which covered a much wider field, and more closely resembled the body into which it had been proposed more than three months before to transform the Allied Maritime Transport Council. The ineffectiveness of the Supreme Council of Supply and Relief was largely due to the lack of experience in collaboration and cooperation on the part of the staff, and it had no power to deal with such important and relevant matters as the restoration of Europe's transport system, and particularly of finance in relation to reparation payment.

## THE FUTURE

The lessons are obvious. Our first duty is to urge the immediate establishment of a unitary authority of the United Nations to control the supply and administration of relief and to plan and prepare for reconstruction. The new national economies which are now being planned by the several Allied Governments will require relief measures in the interim period between the elimination of enemy elements and the functioning of the new plans. It is essential that the administration of relief in this period should be co-ordinated with the new planned economies—the machinery of relief must merge into that of reconstruction.



Professor Huxley, speaking at the Fabian Oxford Conference, said: "Reconstruction must be considered from two angles—first, as the speediest possible restoration of productivity and efficiency to the world at large, and, secondly, as a part of the revolutionary world transformation now in progress." Reconstruction must precede the peace. An International Organisation could concern itself with many problems and considerations which are now being indifferently and inadequately handled—the provision of famine relief to occupied countries now, succour and aid to the Jews, and the immediate future when hostilities cease, of emigrés now living in this country, to mention only some.

There are certain circles, both in Britain and America, which are against any plan for supplying Europe, since it is bound to involve continuance of control and their one desire is to end all forms of state control as soon as possible. It is these elements which will urge relief out of charity and compassion. If it is charity in the biblical sense of the term we, as socialists, can accept it, but, in addition, the suffering peoples have a right, and their needs must be met unconditionally.

We must prepare our people to accept easily the extension of rationing and, if necessary, even further restrictions to ensure an adequate standard for all. We must press hard for an International Health Organisation which could concern itself here and now with coordinating and training the émigré doctors and nurses in this country to deal with the particular troubles they will have to face on their return home, and which also, as part of its main work, should consider advice and assistance in the reconstruction of the various nations' health services. Such a body should merge with the Health and Nutrition Committees of the League of Nations as soon as circumstances permit.

Finally, as democrats and socialists, we must stand by our comrades in the oppressed countries and do everything to ensure the recognition in the distribution of food and repair equipment of the remnants of the democratic movements that may remain—the Trade Unions, the Cooperative organisations, and the Socialist and Peasant Movements. Nothing restores man's confidence and sense of well-being more than a feeling of responsibility and power to influence his own welfare.

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Very valuable research is being done and reliable information published on this subject by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (*Relief and Reconstruction—the First Steps: Medical Relief*, by Melville Mackenzie, M.D.) and the Commission to Study the Organisation of Peace (American). A book incorporating the papers given at the recent Oxford Conference of the Fabian International Bureau on relief will be published shortly, and this will be the first publication as far as we know to deal with the subject from a Socialist point of view.

# THE MACHINERY OF SOCIALISM

Helen Keynes

“In truth the machinery of Socialism is no longer a matter of the Party which professes Socialism being in power.”

The purpose of this article is not to discuss the truth or otherwise of the statement quoted above, but rather to suggest that, if it be true, the *machinery* of Socialist control is more than ever important. In the space of so brief a contribution as this it will be possible to do no more than indicate the questions to which answers must be found.

Machinery, that is to say administration, has always been a matter of interest to some Socialists, but in the contemplation of the future it has always been taken for granted that the first mould of a socialised economy would be shaped by people who believed in Socialism. That it would almost certainly be modified by circumstance and experience, that there would be changes, perhaps reactionary in character, in the political scene was recognised, but in view of the conviction that only Socialists would introduce Socialism upon any considerable scale it was usual when planning the future to indicate the broadest possible outline of the administrative framework and to leave the consideration of details to a Parliament—and to Ministers—expected to be predominantly socialistic in outlook.

But the events of the last three and a half years have profoundly altered the economic scene. There have of course for many years past been changes and indications of developments providing models for the set-up of the future, but the fundamental characteristic of Capitalism has remained; real power has stayed in the hands of the few. Now if there is indeed to be any form of socialised economy in the near future it is the citadel itself which will be attacked; banking, transport, fuel and power, heavy industry. If these things are to be ‘socialised’ by other than Socialists it is imperative that Socialists should concentrate upon

the machinery which is to be used to make the 'socialisation' effective.

## COLLECTIVIST FUTURE

The present emergency must have driven thousands, possibly hundreds of thousands, of small men out of business. Aerial bombardment, shifting of population, the demands of the fighting services, shortage of supplies, have all played their part in their destruction, and the pious hopes of Ministers for their survival do not seem likely to be of any startling efficacy. Whether or not it is desirable that the small builder or contractor, the 'little shop on the corner' should reappear, it seems almost impossible that they will do so to an extent which would make them a factor of importance in the post-war economy. It is true that a collectivised Church, for example, appears an unlikely development and the lawyers no doubt will contrive their personal survival, even so the isolated working citizen is obsolescent. With the extension of town and country planning and with the Municipalities emerging more and more as the owners and builders of property, the individual architect will have less and less scope in which to exercise his talent, the Government Actuary will replace the Chartered Accountant and the demand for a State Medical Service to supplant private practice grows ever more imperative. Sir William Beveridge explicitly states in his Report that 'a comprehensive national health service is a pre-requisite to the functioning of his Social Security Plan'. He has left the structure and machinery of such a service for the consideration of others, but it is far from desirable that Socialists should do the same.

A national or state Medical Service in fact offers an excellent field for decision upon the function of the various parties concerned. Who is to decide upon the broad lines of the policy to be pursued? What part has the expert to play? Is the control to be purely medical? Is the administration to be 'bureaucratic'? Is there any place for the lower grade staff in the controlling body? Has the consumer, i.e. the patient, any voice in his own destiny? Can democratic control in the sense of the elected representatives of the people be applied more effectively than at present? These questions are worth examining, for upon the answers given will depend the kind of Medical Service which will emerge.

There is very little doubt that at present a very large number, possibly even a majority, of doctors would prefer a scheme of their own devising, worked out and controlled by themselves with a minimum of lay interference. The Council of the B M A



has recently said so. It might be a very efficient scheme, it might be made to wear the appearance of a National Medical Service, but it is unlikely to be what is usually regarded as democratic.

The alternative is a plan devised (with expert medical advice of course) and controlled by the State as represented by a Department with a Minister responsible to Parliament at its head and with the usual bureaucratic machinery, modified to meet particular needs ; but even this too is by no means necessarily democratic.

## WHO DECIDES WHAT ?

Parliament must be both the beginning and the ending of any socialised economy. It is the Minister who must devise, or at least accept responsibility for policy, and Parliament which must first approve and, if necessary, subsequently criticise and amend it, but between the exercise of these two functions there is a vast area of administration in which, if socialisation is to have any reality, democracy must operate. The prevalence of broadly drafted Statutes with the blanks filled in by Administrative Orders, the present concern of Parliament with wide over-riding necessities, the difficulties in the way of the normal procedure of Local Government and a growing sense of the need for its reconstruction and reorganisation, have all tended to slacken tremendously the grip of the elected representative upon his officials, and there is no doubt that the resumption and even the strengthening of this control will be one of the problems of the post-war world. It is one of the curiosities of the present day that as the democratic control of industry tends to increase so does that of bureaucracy tend to lessen.

In this connection the Interim Report of the NALGO Reconstruction Committee makes interesting reading. Section VII, paragraphs 38-40, a passage unfortunately too long to quote, is particularly relevant, and the opening words, printed in leaded type, are these : 'Local Government must remain democratic.' The words of the Report leave no doubt of the interpretation to be put upon the word democratic. Control by the elected representatives of the people is meant and the use of *ad hoc* bodies is deprecated. One of the reasons adduced displays, however, a curious blindness ; it is expressly stated that the control of elected bodies can and must be used to check the bureaucratic encroachment of Government Departments upon the proper functions of Local Government. Considerable stress is laid upon these encroachments in other parts of the Report and no suspicion seems to have crossed the minds of the writers that Local Government Departments also constitute a bureaucracy, that the circumstances

of the present day do in a very marked degree increase the administrative powers of that bureaucracy and that such power may need to be considerably reduced in the future.

## IS THIS DEMOCRACY ?

The decline of real democracy in the elected body, also a war phenomenon, is another cause of concern. The very wide powers, for example, given to Chairmen of Committees, their tendency to present *faits accomplis* to their Committees and to ask for an assent that cannot well be withheld, are dangers to democratic control that should not be overlooked. In the future efficiency will probably demand much larger units of Local Government. The preservation of small units is too great a price to pay for the retention of the so-called personal touch ; but means must be found whereby the function of Local Government does not fade far beyond the purview of the man in the street.

In the public services, where there are a large number of employes gathered roughly under one roof or affected by the same problems, Joint Councils, whether or not upon the strict Whitley model, will no doubt largely solve the problem from the 'producer' standpoint. But what is the answer for the 'Consumer', the man who lives in the houses, uses the roads, lives, or dies, in the hospitals ? In the long run the answer is the education of the public. As the functions of Local Government increase so must education spread wider the net which draws men and women into controlling their operation. In the short run it is the education of members of public bodies. The demand for public-spirited and able persons at present far exceeds their supply, and, secure in its superior knowledge of the problems involved, bureaucracy flourishes. And sometimes sneers. It should not be possible for such a book as Mr Savage's *Librarian and his Committee* to be written ; at least so far as the opening chapter is concerned. It is one that local Councillors would do well to read. Mr Savage, who was for many years the Chief Librarian in Edinburgh, has a name that stands deservedly high in the British Library world. It is scarcely putting it too strongly to say that he regards his former Library Committees with a very thinly veiled contempt. It is worthy of notice that up to the present no one has questioned either the naturalness or the propriety of his views. The answer is not to destroy the bureaucrat in self-defence, nor to recruit him from the ranks of the intellectually inferior (a stupid, ill-educated or corruptible bureaucracy is infinitely worse than a too-powerful one), but to create an informed public, and from it to draw elected representatives of sufficient intelligence, diligence

and integrity to ensure that the bureaucracy shall be its willing servant and not its master.

## DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRY

It can be regarded as axiomatic that no machinery could be devised which would be equally applicable to the needs of Government Departments, Local Government Services and modern industry. On the old assumption mentioned above that only Socialists are likely to introduce Socialism, the methods by which a democratic control of industry, which has always been regarded as indispensable, could be exercised have been mostly left unexplored; however a recent speech by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Dalton, *Hansard*, 3.2.43) gives a fairly clear idea of the lines upon which he, and no doubt the present Government, are thinking. Mr Herbert Morrison, speaking at Nottingham, (13.2.43) endorsed the outline, but did little to fill in the details. Whether a post-war Conservative Government, should such occur, would think even so democratically as this is open to question. An article in *The Times* of 2.2.43 does however lead one to hope that it may be possible, while the temper and the political picture created by the present emergency remain, to inject some measure of democratic control into industry.

What appears to be envisaged is that some form—its precise nature is not indicated—of coordinating and controlling body shall be set up. Whether it is to take the form of a supreme Economic Council; whether it is to be composed of the appropriate Ministers guided by Civil Servants and having access to the advice of industrialists, employers and workers alike; whether it is to be recruited from the ranks of the F B I and the T U C with an independent or possibly a Ministerial Chairman, was not even suggested. The fact which emerged was that the control and direction of Finance and Industry would at least out-last the war. Within that framework each industry was asked to prepare a scheme to cover its own transition from conditions of war to those of peace and Mr Dalton warned the industrial powers that he proposed to consult the T U C and the appropriate Unions at each step. This, coupled with his commendation of the work done by the Joint Councils of employers and workers, makes it fairly easy to forecast future developments.

The exclusive powers of individual capitalists or groups of them would vanish. The worker as producer would share the control of his destiny and a more or less remote and a more or less informed Minister would be subject to the inquisition of Parliament. This is not Socialism, nor even Socialistic machinery sponsored by those who are not Socialists.



## THE SNAGS OF SECTIONAL DEMOCRACY

It is clear that no great industry—and indeed no Department of State nor Local Government Service—could conduct itself successfully if its every action were to be questioned by external authority; but if democratic control is to have any reality it must start in far humbler spheres than the high court of Parliament, and it is in those spheres that the question of administration assumes its vast importance. How far does the inclusion of the worker as producer guarantee democratic control? It must be remembered that while, economically speaking, production is the worker's most important single aspect, he functions as a producer for only a portion of his time. He functions as a consumer for the whole of it. In other words, his democratic interests range, or should range, far beyond his own unit of production or even the industry of which his unit is a part. The maker of steel is vitally concerned with the production of coal, the modern builder with the making of steel and Everyman with the block of flats which supersedes, or perhaps does not, the rows of obsolescent houses now violently reduced to rubble or empty shells. Do Joint Councils in industry, then, fulfil the functions of democracy or do they tend, unless watched and extended in scope, to create two vested interests where there was one before? No one would be so foolish as to deny their great usefulness. If properly constituted and used they give the worker a vastly enhanced status, they provide a means of control over an enormously important section of his individual existence, they promote harmony and they give to industry a hitherto largely untapped reservoir of capacity, knowledge and experience, but do they really provide the machinery of Socialism? Do they bridge the gap between the man in the street and Parliament? Will the factory unit, assuming the Joint Council to function as nearly perfectly as a human institution may, in fact ensure even a 'producers' democracy? Can the appropriate Trade Union or Unions furnish the personnel for the workers' side of a Joint Council for the whole of a given industry? Or is it imperative that actual workers in the industry should participate? If so, what effect is the suggested greater mobility of labour likely to have? If not, is there any fear that the Trade Union officials will tend to take on the characteristics of bureaucracy? Above all, what part is the consumer of the product of the industry, whether it be another industry, an instrument of Government or an individual citizen, to play in its control? With what powers and numbers is he to be equipped and where can he first function? In the factory Joint Council, the Industrial Council, the faintly foreshadowed

Grand Economic Council, or at a long last remotely in a political Parliament ?

The answers to these questions are long and difficult. Modern industry is so complex, its component parts so interdependent and interlocked, that the creation of machinery for its socialisation must be infinitely difficult. Every question raised here is one of administration, of machinery, and as yet there are no answers. But unless the right answers are given we may be found to have created the ideal Fascist State and the battle for freedom, bitterer and bloodier than ever before, will be once again to fight.

# SURVEY OF DAGENHAM MEDICAL SERVICES

## November, 1942

AREA—6,556 acres.

POPULATION—91,740 (1940 figures).  
109,300 (Mid 1939)

### Shape and layout of Borough in relation to—

(a) *Industry*.—A large and important industry belt has been established along the river at the south end of the district over the past 20 years. Of these concerns, Ford Motor Co. and Briggs Motor Bodies are by far the largest, employing between them thousands of men and women and young people. More recently there has been a tendency to develop smaller industries, which lie grouped around the main line railway station.

(b) *Residence*.—The population of the district has grown from 9,127 persons in 1921 to that mentioned above—surely a record. This was due largely to the action of the L.C.C. in establishing one of its dormitories in this district some years ago. The main residential area of the district is to be found around its centre, stretching south to the industry belt, and north to the rural area of the district. This rural district consists of farmland and pasture land, and the district ends by forming part of the permanent open space of Hainault Forest.

### Health Rates, 1942-43

County Rate	Rate Levied		Total Estimated cost based on 1d rate of £2,290
	s.	d.	£
General County Purposes—			
Public Health .. ..	1	0.5*	28,625
Special County Purposes—			
Mental Hospitals .. ..	0	1.5*	3,435
Approx. net cost of Health Services administered by County ..	1	2.0	32,060
General Rate	s.	d.	£
Maternity and Child Welfare, Midwives Act, Public Health, Mortuary, Ambulances .. ..	0	7.24	16,585
Precept—			
Romford Joint Hospital Board..	0	7.00	16,030
Totals .. ..	2	4.24	64,675

\* Precept levied by Essex County Council is on basis of net expenditure after reduction of Exchequer Grant proportions *re* Health Services.

**Medical Officer of Health's Department** - Staff composed as follows :

(a) Medical—

Medical Officer of Health.

Deputy Medical Officer of Health.

Assistant Medical Officer of Health.

(b) Five District Sanitary Inspectors (one of whom is Chief).

(c) Ten Health Visitors (one of whom is Chief).

(d) Nine Midwives (one of whom is Chief).



<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Commencing Salary p.a.</i>	<i>Maximum Salary</i>	<i>Emoluments</i>
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
Medical Officer .. ..	900	1,000	100 car.
Deputy Medical Officer ..	600	750	..
Assistant Medical Officer ..	550	700	..
Sanitary Inspectors—			
Senior .. ..	375	450	50 car.
Assistant .. ..	250	390	..
Health Visitors .. ..	220	300	Uniform.
Midwives—			
Senior .. ..	250	325	Uniform
Assistant .. ..	170/200	220	and Laundry.
	If State Registered	250	do.

N.B.—All salaries are supplemented by a war bonus. Males, £33 16s. 0d. per annum and females £26 per annum.

### MEDICAL SERVICES<sup>1</sup>

*These are variously provided by Essex County Council, Dagenham Borough Council, voluntary bodies, and private enterprise, these sources being too closely interwoven for separate tabulation :*

#### (1) School Medical Services

(a) *Medical*.—Controlled by the County Council, over whose four Medical Officers the local Medical Officer of Health holds a watching brief on behalf of the County Medical Officer of Health.

There are four permanently established clinics in the area open every day for the treatment of minor ailments. Refraction and dental sessions are held as required at two of the clinics. The Orthopædic Surgeon pays regular visits to school children requiring treatment. On Monday and Thursday mornings remedial exercises and massage clinics are held. Speech training classes are also held at regular intervals.

(b) *Nursing*.—No nursing in the general sense of the word is undertaken by the school medical service, but school nurses often visit the homes of children found to be in an uncleanly condition, where they advise parents on the best methods of treatment.

#### (2) District Nursing Association

(a) *Staff*.—Consists of one Superintendent and six trained midwives acting as such. In addition there are four pupil midwives; two trained nurses are available for district nursing.

(b) *Finances*.—Though primarily a voluntary organisation, the Association is paid by the Local Authority for the work of the midwives. The midwives also act as assistants to the Council Medical Officers of Health at Ante-natal Clinics, and the nurses often travel with the ambulance services.

The Association has recently embarked upon a provident scheme which has about 5,000 subscribers. Members pay 1d. per week (old-age pensioners ½d. per week), and are thereby entitled to the considerable services which the Association provide.

The Association is a branch of the Essex County Nursing Association, which in turn is affiliated to the Queen's Institute of District Nurses. It is under the direct supervision of the local superintendent and the county supervisor of the Essex County Nursing Association. Prominent people living in the area sit on the local Committee, among them being representatives of the local Council. The local Medical Officer of Health acts as Chairman of the Committee. The Association has a fine building which is used as a Nurses' Home and general headquarters; they have taken over a house in the district as an office and administrative centre for the provident scheme.

<sup>1</sup> The Corporation makes no flat rate charges for treatment, but an assessment of family earnings is made in accordance with the public health, maternity and child welfare Assistance Scheme and charges made accordingly.

**(3) Clinics**

(a) *Borough Ante-natal and Maternity Clinics.*—Four ante-natal centres are operated at weekly intervals in the district; two hold sessions on different days, one an all-day session and one a morning session. In addition, one clinic on the outskirts of the district meets on the first Friday of each month. Each clinic is under the charge of one of the Council Medical Officers, assisted by Council health visitors and midwives (and occasionally, as required, by midwives employed by the District Nursing Association). Complicated cases are referred to the Consultant Gynaecologist. Normal cases desiring hospital treatment can make private arrangements with various hospitals, and complicated cases are treated at Oldchurch Hospital.

(b) *Five Infant Welfare Clinics* are held throughout the district, each being in charge of a Council Medical Officer and health visitors. These services are so popular that during 1941 it was necessary to open three additional weekly sessions.

**(4) Tuberculosis Services**

(a) *Treatment.*—Control is vested in the County Council. Twenty Hospitals and Institutions are available for the treatment of cases through the County Council Scheme. A tuberculosis clinic is held twice weekly at the King George Hospital Out-Patients' Department, Dagenham, where a tuberculosis officer of the County Council is in attendance. Two female visitors are employed by the County Council in this area, following up cases in their homes, arranging for extra foods, and advising on particulars of nursing. The local Sanitary Inspectors visit dwellings when new cases are diagnosed in the district, concerning themselves with the sanitary conditions of the home.

(b) *After-care Committee* is a voluntary organisation set up by various associations in the district engaged on social work. A yearly grant is received from the County Authorities, and other finances are raised by social activities and contributions from national flag days. Assistance is rendered to patients in the form of extra nourishment, through help in purchasing additional clothing before entering sanatoria, and through the provision of facilities for contacts to receive treatment in order to build up resistance against disease.

**(5) Doctors in the District**

Up to the outbreak of war, there were 21 doctors practising in the district; practically every doctor called to the Services has arranged for a deputy, so that the number practising now is 20. In addition, there are 20 doctors practising on the borders of the district.

**(6) Midwives in the District (not Council staff)**

There are three independent midwives operating in the district. In addition, the Salvation Army and the District Nursing Association, with two and seven midwives respectively, continue to function separately, but in very close liaison with the Council's scheme. Fees and other conditions offered are similar to those laid down by the Local Authority.

**(7) Rush Green Fever Hospital**

This hospital contains 305 beds (235 pre-war), of which 215 have been allocated to the Emergency Medical Service for patients injured by enemy action, etc. The hospital is maintained by the Romford Joint Hospital Board, which consists of members of the Boroughs of Dagenham and Romford, and the Urban District of Hornchurch.

**(8) West Ham Sanatorium**

This Institution, covering over 100 acres, is controlled entirely by the West Ham Corporation for the use of tubercular patients from that area. It began in 1912 as a Smallpox Hospital, but was converted to a Tuberculosis Sanatorium in 1914. Since the war and transport difficulties West Ham Corporation have agreed to take limited numbers of patients from outside areas, including Dagenham and Hornchurch. The Sanatorium possesses

128 beds, 80 of which are for male and 48 for female patients. The staff consists of two doctors, 26 nurses, and the appropriate number of domestic assistants, orderlies and clerical staff.

#### (9) Five Elms Out-Patients' Department

This consists of an out-patients' department serving local inhabitants, and is an auxiliary of King George Hospital, which is situated in Ilford. It deals chiefly with accidents, serious cases being transferred to the main hospital, and a large part of the work is the 'routine dressings' of cuts, sores etc. At present, part of the building is used as a First Aid Post, with decontamination plant attached. Tuberculosis clinics are held twice a week. In peace time, this Council held ante-natal and maternity and child welfare centres on the premises. The control of the building is in the hands of the Board of Governors. Following a contribution by the Council towards the cost of purchasing X-ray Therapy equipment, seven local Councillors were elected as Life Governors to the Hospital in 1934.

*Contributory Scheme.*—For a contribution of 2d per week, members are entitled to free in-patient and out-patient service, and free home nursing within certain limits as provided by the King George Hospital, in-patients being admitted only at the discretion of the medical staff, and in accordance with the accommodation available. At the moment there are about 4,000 contributors, but in peace time the figure is considerably higher than this.

#### (10) King George Voluntary Hospital

This Hospital received its Charter in 1930. It is a modern, well equipped building, serving a thickly populated area. The out-patients' department at Five Elms is administered from the main hospital, and deals with casualties and minor ailments. Prior to the war, 207 beds were in constant use at the main hospital, but this number has now been increased to 250. Control is vested in the Board of Management, from which are elected various Action Committees.

*Finances.*—The hospital is entirely dependent upon donations from individuals and societies, a method of finance which, common to voluntary hospitals, places a great strain on the efficient running of the establishment.

#### (11) Oldchurch Hospital

Situated in Romford, this hospital was formerly a Poor Law Institute, but has been taken over by the County Council. It now possesses modern X-ray and other electrical installations for diagnostic and therapeutic uses, and serves a large area, of which Dagenham is part. It contains 968 beds, of which 30 are reserved for air-raid casualties. Control is entrusted to the Public Health Committee of the County Council, finances being drawn from the County Rates.

### SUMMARY

While the facilities outlined above appear to be fairly all-embracing, the need for a general hospital containing a maternity ward would very considerably assist the residents of the district. At the moment patients must go either to Oldchurch Hospital, Romford, or King George Hospital, Ilford, and although the local ambulance service is adequate, the fact that the beds at these hospitals are open to patients from other districts, often means much delay in treatment. In addition, the presence in Dagenham nowadays of large and highly mechanised industrial plants, with the inevitable high percentage of accidents, means that the need for such a hospital locally is very real. It is of course appreciated that the expense of building and equipping such a hospital would be almost prohibitive for a young Borough such as Dagenham, but it is to be hoped that if and when a State Medical Service is inaugurated the need of this area will be met.

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NOTE! This report has been compiled from information supplied by Alderman A. F. J. Choley, J.P., E.C.C., to whom the Editor is much indebted.



# FABIAN RESEARCH

## Quarterly Report

### HOME POLICY

The *Social Security* Book is in the press now and we should normally be turning our attention to other research projects, feeling we had shot our bolt at Social Security, and must now forge another bolt and shoot that elsewhere. However *Social Security* has developed into a subject of such major importance that it seems essential for the Fabian Society to continue its work in this field. We are being asked for speakers at the rate of two a day, and are handling a mass of correspondence on the more controversial sections of the report.

We have therefore decided to set up a special Social Security Committee to further the progress of the Beveridge Report and to do further research arising from the Report and its assumptions. Obviously the extra work will need extra staff and we are accordingly raising a Social Security Fund without which the work cannot advance. Plans are on hand for research into the problems of *The Aged*, and of the country's *Rent Structure* and for a conference on *Government Training Schemes* as postulated in the Beveridge Report.

Meanwhile the *Control of Industry* book is being written, and Miss Specht's research into the *Problems of the Common School* is progressing. The Research Department has produced seven book lists under the title *What to Read*. These cover Politics; Government, Central and Local; Social Services, Health and Housing; Economics, Industry and Population; Reconstruction; Agriculture, Food, Nutrition; Education. They are on sale, and should be very useful. A pamphlet on *Full Employment* is being prepared as a first step to further work in this field.

### FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

The most recent publication of the Bureau, *Downing Street and the Colonies*—a critical analysis of the structure of the Colonial Civil Services and the handling of colonial affairs in Parliament—has now been published and has received considerable attention. Its conclusions have already been ventilated in Parliamentary debate, and leading articles referring to this book have appeared in at least two national papers. It is hoped to continue the study of colonial administration by a second report on Colonial Constitutions, as the Bureau is well aware that the political problems

of the Colonies will not be solved by a bigger and better Civil Service alone. A small propaganda pamphlet, *The Colonies and Us*, by Rita Hinden, Secretary of the Bureau, has been published under the auspices of the Socialist Propaganda Committee.

The situation in the West Indies, where economic problems and the slow pace of political reform are causing a sense of disquiet, has received much attention in the last few months. A Deputation from the Bureau was received by the Colonial Office on this subject and was composed of Mr David Adams M P, Mr Ben Riley M P, Mr R. Sorensen M P, Lord Faringdon, Mr. C. W. Greenidge, Dr Arthur Lewis, Mrs Olive Cruchley and Dr Rita Hinden. In a very long discussion the Bureau was able to put forward its misgivings about the West Indian position and Mr Harold Macmillan gave a full reply. In February, the constitutional position of these Colonies was raised in debate in the House of Lords by Lord Faringdon.

There is no progress to report regarding the formulation of a Colonial Charter or a new policy statement on Colonial affairs. In order to press the urgent necessity for such a statement, a special 12-page issue of the Bureau's journal, *Empire*, was published in January and has aroused considerable interest. The demand for some statement is being increasingly heard in the Colonies themselves and also in the U.S.

The unsatisfactory political and economic situation in the Bahamas came to public attention in the riots that broke out in that Colony in June 1942. The evidence given before a subsequent Commission of Inquiry has been carefully studied by the Bureau, and a great deal of work has been done in bringing these facts to the attention of the British public. Special work has also been done on the position of Newfoundland, and a thorough study of the working of the Tennessee Valley Authority and its possible application to Colonial areas, is now being undertaken on the Bureau's behalf.

## FABIAN INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

The Bureau is now giving first place in its considerations and work to the problems associated with relief and reconstruction. At the recent Oxford Conference arranged by the Bureau papers were delivered on this subject by Prof. Huxley, W. Arnold Forster, Dr John Hammond, Dr John Marrack, Dr Aleck Bourne and Professor Harold Laski; these, together with a further paper on Movements of Population, are now being edited by Leonard Woolf and are to be published in book form. George Ridley M P, Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, was in the chair at the first

session and opened the Conference with a speech which was broadcast to Europe in all the major European languages and the whole conference was widely used by the B B C in all its programmes, especially the European, Empire and North American.

There are certain important political aspects of relief and reconstruction to which the Bureau is also giving attention. The future of the International Labour Movement and the relationship between the second and third International are now being investigated by a special group constituted for the purpose, and the importance of the reconstruction of the European Trade Union Movement and its part in the work of the I L O is also being considered. The immediate problem of the use of relief as a political weapon through the strengthening of 'Quislings' and 'Darlans' and their fellow reactionaries was discussed at an evening conference held in February. This was addressed by André Philip and Kingsley Martin with Lord Faringdon in the chair.

*American Labour*, a booklet by Ernest Davies, produced in collaboration with the Anglo-American Group of the Bureau, is now available (see p. 10).



## BOOK REVIEWS

### International

**THE UNTAMED BALKANS** by Frederic W. L. Kovacs (Robert Hale 10/6)

An interesting account of the 1941 Balkan debacle and of present political forces, which reveals both the merits and defects of the Vienna (or Budapest) café outlook on Balkan affairs. Imro, Boris, Zog and the rest are accurately handled, but 'the peasant' is approached as a 'sleeping giant', and the writer obviously has no economic principles to enable him to assess the real situation of the peasant countries. He relies too heavily on quotations from Drucker to prove that 'the peasant' resented the industrialisation which came after 1918—a big mistake, since the real trouble of the peasant countries was precisely that industrialisation failed to develop. It is unfortunate that a book with so much acute political judgment should be marred by ignorance of the all-important economic and social factors. D. W.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA FIGHTS BACK** by Cecily Mackworth (Lindsay Drummond 6/-)

A concise and vivid picture of the unequal fight between the ruthless Nazi machine and its disarmed, physically weak but spiritually indomitable victims. There are no tedious statistics and the atrocities committed are mercifully only hinted at. J. B.

**A GERMAN PROTECTORATE—THE CZECHS UNDER NAZI RULE** by Sheila Grant Duff (Macmillan 12/6)

Sober account of Hitler's New Order as a historical problem comparable to Napoleon's. Rare among contemporary histories in not sacrificing fact to sentiment. This is not to say that the evidence—mainly drawn from German official documents—is in any way biased towards Nazism. Expensive, but not ephemeral. No maps. C. R. A. R.

**THE NEW EUROPE** by Bernard Newman. With 50 maps (Robert Hale 18/-)

Should be read by all those interested in post-war reconstruction in Europe. A serious attempt must be made to solve the boundary problems (with which the book principally deals) in a reasonable way if any international organisation of the future is to have a firm basis. The author unfortunately ignores Russia's likely demand for incorporation of the Baltic States and the Western Ukraine in the Soviet Union. J. P.

**THE SPOIL OF EUROPE** by Thomas Reveille (Allen & Unwin 10/6)

A useful description of Nazi economic policies in Europe. The book describes in great detail the Nazi economic organisation and the methods by which the economic systems of occupied countries have been absorbed into the Nazi war machine. R. W. B. C.

**NORWAY AND THE WAR** (Documents on International Affairs) ed. Monica Curtis (Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press 10/6)

This volume takes the story from the period of Norway's hopeless attempts at neutrality to December 1940 and the open conflict between the Norwegian bishops and the Nazi regime. It includes some moving speeches by King Haakon and an interesting example of Ribbentrop's oratory (his speech to neutral pressmen on the occupation of Norway), but a collection of official documents dealing with such a sequence of

events is bound to lack body. A review of Norwegian newspaper opinion at different points in the period and some indication of the attitude of the trade unions would make this a more useful record. A. B.

**INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DISINTEGRATION** by Wilhelm Röpke (William Hodge & Co)

An analysis of economic nationalism in its various forms, leading to a strong attack on 'Magenot-mindedness', which seeks to protect the national economy from fluctuations by a Magenot line of tariffs, quotas and the like. Dr Röpke is a stalwart opponent of planning of all kinds. Planners can read this book with great advantage. For British planners, it is a useful corrective, provided that it is not taken too literally: planners have a natural tendency to be autarchic, and for Britain—a country deficient in practically every important raw material, and unable to feed itself—autarkie is a disaster. British planners must be foreign-trade-minded, and must further the international division of labour, and Dr Röpke's book is useful in that its general argument, while being unacceptable as a whole, brings out this point clearly.

R. W. B.

**THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIMENT OF UPPER SILESIA** by Georges Kaeckenbeek (Oxford University Press 42/-)

This is the case-history of Upper Silesia, from 1922 to 1937, written by the President of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. It is a story of vast effort and massive international argument to reconcile the irreconcilable. Upper Silesia is one economic and geographical unit, with Germans and Poles hopelessly intermingled; the experience of 1922-37 showed that despite this tremendous effort of international arbitration and cooperation, it was impossible to run this unit effectively, divided between the German and Polish nation-states. No frontier is 'right'. The answer in areas like this—the Ruhr-Lorraine complex is another—is internationalisation, not division between nation-states with complex arrangements for arbitration and 'cooperation'.

R. W. B. C.

**THE SWEDISH COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SYSTEM** by Paul H. Norgren (Harvard University Press Published in England by Oxford University Press)

A standard history of the development of collective bargaining in Sweden, where the process of orderly collective bargaining has gone further, possibly, than in England. There has been a strong tendency to centralise bargaining, so that the main decision is taken by the Swedish Employers' Federation and the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions; a tacit agreement has been reached that the employers will not press for wage-cuts in depression, nor the workers for undue increases during booms; during the war it has been agreed that all wage-contracts should be varied according to the cost-of-living index. The initiative towards this centralisation has been taken by the trade unions, which are run by young men who realise that the trade unions have a big constructive part to play in economic policy. There is no opposition-mindedness in Swedish labour.

R. W. B. C.

**SHOULD NATIONS SURVIVE ?** by Dr Hilda D. Oakley (Allen & Unwin 6/-)

At a time when the tendency is either to consider Nationalism as an unmitigated evil or a sublime end in itself there is value in a book such as this. Here is the just and balanced verdict. A careful reading will improve our outlook; our improved outlook will, if we know our social duty, improve society. That is a long-term factor, but between the long and the short term results recurrent warfare will probably have knocked the silliness of nationalism into the commonsense of federalism.

H. F.



**CHINA BUT NOT CATHAY** by Hsiao Ch'ien (The Pilot Press 7/6)

This book gives a picture of a nation making strides to get abreast of modern western developments in every field. The many excellent photographs are mainly concerned with people and not with things. This and the fact that many of the statistics quoted are not comparative makes the book of little use to the serious student of China, but will not diminish its appeal and value to the average reader who wants a picture of what China and the Chinese are like today. E. P.

**DISCOURS ET MESSAGES DU GL DE GAULLE** (Oxford University Press 3/6)

Depict the rise of the Fighting French movement and of the General himself—from the outraged soldier and technician to the acknowledged chief of French resistance. Hardly any trace of the coming politician, because 1942 is not included. The messages read badly—yet, these hammered repetitive sentences sound effective at the microphone. The longer speeches have literary value, although somewhat stilted in their composition and imagery, reminiscent of the 'discours latin'. They show a clear brain, a power of synthesis, and of appropriate invective. 'Pronunciamento de Panique' is a gem. A. M. R.

## Miscellaneous

**WAR AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF PEACE** by William Brown (A. & C. Black 7/6)

A collection of papers rather than cohesive exposition. Dr William Brown could—and should—write a solid book about 'psychological disarmament', about the increased power of the sub-conscious in group mentality, and about the psychological effects of collectivism. These problems are raised in the present book and left in the air. The final chapter is an elementary analysis of Federal Union as an anti-war palliative; this and the chattily naïve political comments scattered through the book belie the author's undoubted power to tell us what we want to know about ourselves as social units. J. S. C.

**OUR HERITAGE OF LIBERTY** by Stephen Leacock (John Lane, The Bodley Head 3/6)

A neat little essay on the history of organised liberty in the modern world, 'especially addressed to those who have never had occasion to think much about public liberty'. Mr Leacock's writing in this field lacks the distinction of his humorous work. J. S. C.

**FREEDOM ITS MEANING** Planned and edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen (Allen & Unwin 16/-)

Nineteen distinguished modern thinkers, including Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, J. B. S. Haldane and Henri Bergson, speak for freedom; its history and meaning; intellectual and academic freedom; its cultural implications and its power. The book's 335 pages include a comprehensive index and it is an encyclopædia of freedom. It is a serious but not a heavy work; with more appeal to the student of affairs than to the general reader, yet not intimidating. E. P.

**A. POCKET HISTORY OF THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS** by Raymond Postgate (NCLC Publishing Society Ltd 2/-)

To compress the history of the British working class into 90 small pages is not easy. Raymond Postgate has dealt sketchily with the early part of his story, but the 19th century is described with clarity and skill. The turbulent Chartists and the respectable leaders of the Amalgamated Societies are vividly contrasted and the eruption of the 'New Unionists' to remedy the neglect of the unskilled workers by the craftsmen is reminiscent of recent American struggles. No morals are drawn, but the book is an excellent and readable summary. D. N. S.



**MODERN DEMOCRACY** by Carl L. Becker (Yale University Press \$2)

Here in a hundred pages are three lectures by a professor of history of Cornell University. He entitles them the Ideal, the Reality, the Dilemma. It is a brilliant and lucid exposition of the concept known as democracy; what it means, what it should mean and what it may mean. This book merits wide circulation, both as an introduction and a stimulus to the study of democracy. E. P.

**CRIPPS, A PORTRAIT AND A PROSPECT** by Froom Tyler (Harrap 6/-)

As the preface says, this is "a journalistic impression of a contemporary statesman in mid-career". This is all one can say about it. It is neither profound nor informative, but it does not pretend to be. R. W. B. C.

**SCIENCE AND WORLD ORDER** (Penguin 9d)

This is, in itself, a very excellent review of the proceedings of the Conference on Science and World Order which met under the British Association. The general drift of the conference was that Science and Scientists should take a much greater part in deciding the use to which their work should be put, by having a greater part in government. Science is now an integral part of government and the point is made quite clear that it is not a government by scientists that is required but a scientific government, in which science takes its rightful place as one of the major human activities. Raw materials, food and health and post-war planning on scientific lines are very well summarised.

J. A. O.

**INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION** (Oxford University Press 1/-)

A statement published under the auspices of Nuffield College and signed by a number of progressive industrialists, scientists, trade unionists and teachers, outlining the problems and broad principles of a policy of education for industry. Based on a belief in the necessity of maximum efficiency in production for the purpose of enlarging the quality of human life, it suggests plans for three groups of entrants into industry: those leaving school at the statutory age; those continuing at secondary schools and those coming from the universities.

Includes a warning against too early vocational training; a protest against the bias against manual occupations and a demand for a higher status for craftsmen; a recognition that wider cultural opportunities must be provided for the repetition worker who cannot expect full work satisfaction from the job; a suggestion for refresher courses for managers and technicians; some original suggestions for the use of a 'National Service' year; and an appeal for more and better adult education. An excellent basis for a programme.

A. A.

